/21 cont./

793 of Cheikh, supporting the S. F. I. O., having gone so far as
*795 to throw stones into the "carré" of the Caliph-general. Cheikh
[666] had to restrain the socialist ardor of his talibés, who had gone too far. Such actions risk alienating from him the brotherhood /22/ and even the Administration, but he needs both in order to continue to carry on his policy.

His residence in Touba is located near the mosque, but on the opposite side from that of the Caliph-general. On the day of the Magal he tries to assemble there the greatest possible number of talibés in order to show his influence.

The cultivation of groundnuts is for him, too, an important source of revenue. His principal plantations are located at Talf in the subdivision of Gossas, not far from the limits of that of M'Backé.

The other members of the M'Backé family have less influence on the life of the brotherhood. Nevertheless, they hold positions on the Murid Administrative Council, and they are settled around Touba and M'Backé.

[871] M'Backé Bousso heads an important Koranic school at Darou-Salam, just beside M'Backé. Abdoulaye M'Backé has settled at Boulel-Mody, at the extremity of the former valley of the
[312] Sine where, thanks to the permanent waterholes that exist at certain places in this dried-up thalweg, he has created rice-
[241] fields and orchards which complement his groundnut plantations, in the midst of which he lives. Modest and self-effacing in appearance, this M'Backé is in reality very rich and very influential, for he has as talibés principally salaried workers and city employees who send him a tithe from their salaries or their income.

Following the example of the direct descendants and collateral relatives of Amadou Bamba, his distant relatives, his allies, the descendants of his first collaborators have made themselves "Great Murid Marabouts." Spiritual and temporal leaders at the same time, instructing their disciples in the doctrine of the founder, and above all having them till the soil for them, these Sérignes have created in Baol and in adjacent

/27 cont./

*795 These political rivalries which are being outlined are in part caused by the social consequences of Muridism.

It has often been reproached (in the Senegalese world) for turning the young people, not only against traditional cults and brotherhoods, but also against their families and, in a general way, against their customary framework. As a matter of fact, all of the talibés who work on behalf of the Murid marabouts are young men who have, properly speaking, deserted their villages and their families in order to be Murids and only Murids. If they later return to their natal villages, it is to act as a kind of militant, missionaries, who wish absolutely to convert these villages to the Murid faith.

If one adds to this that the way in which the talibés are treated and trained is not very educative, if one notes that the organization of the work of the plantations and of its productivity is effectively very close to pure and simple exploitation of the Murid workers, one will admit that the social organization of Muridism is not exempt from all criticism.

*795 244 241 One might think that, even if Murid fanaticism has drawbacks from the social point of view, it gives, at least on the economic level, some remarkable results. It has given a taste for agricultural work to a large part of the Senegalese population, and it has opened great areas, previously uncultivated, for the cultivation of the groundnut. Unfortunately, a more thorough study of /28/ this question makes us fear that the way in which the Murids exploit their groundnut planting nowadays may be a danger for the economic future of the country.

An important report of an agricultural mission devoted to this problem an entire chapter which shows all the drawbacks of this extensive and destructive single-crop cultivation aimed solely toward an immediate material profit, and which it does not hesitate to call "pillage economy." Indeed, in his desire to harvest groundnuts for the profit of his marabout, the talibé, who is not a peasant, spoils the land. He clears land without any consideration at all; he destroys the trees and especially the caddes, so precious for the land of Senegal. He exhausts

/28 cont./

* 795 the soil, since he practices neither rotation nor fallowing, since
794 he does not utilize either animal fertilizers (he is not at all a
241 stock-breeder), chemical fertilizers, or green fertilizer... and
● each time that he abandons lands which he has completely (and for a long time to come) exhausted, in order to bring new lands into this devastating cycle, the desert advances behind him. All this is all the more serious because the cultivation undertaken by the Murid talibés has a yield 30 per cent lower than that of the cultivation done by the Black true peasants, and notably the Sérère /Serer/ peasants.

In short, this report regards the Murid as "a ravager of forests and land, and a squanderer of the riches of the territory."

* 795 The author of the report does not stop, however, at these violent criticisms and pessimistic conclusions. According to him (and he is right), the Murid fact does exist and will exist for a long time to come, even if the brotherhood were to split up for reasons of personal and internal rivalries. The different fragments would retain the same spirit and the same methods; one would not see the end of Muridism, but its continuation in different and rival sects.

So he proposes channeling the Murid fanaticism, reforming it, and improving its methods of work and production by acting upon the great Murid leaders themselves and by making them understand the necessity of these reforms and improvements. He adds that Falilou M'Backé is an "intelligent man" who willingly recognizes that many improvements could be made in the present agricultural technique of the Murids and who even thinks that this modernization could only strengthen the vitality of the brotherhood.

Besides, there is every reason to believe that the other leaders of Muridism and most of the "Great Marabouts" will follow the example of the Caliph-general and will understand very quickly (if it can be demonstrated to them) the necessity of avoiding thoughtless clearing /29/ and of replanting caddes where they have been cut down, of using green and chemical fertilizers, indeed of taking an interest in stock-raising and

/375 cont./

369 166 [574] 425 [623] He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he

1. Lougan: a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiés.

369 241 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village? His family will come to maintain it each year. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [451] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 621 The period of the maximum development of Keur-Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/379 cont./

Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-Islamized None.

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

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SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
369
427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

369 /385 cont./
of Thiès, it clearly appears that the characteristics of the suburbs of the African cities noticeably differ from those of the cities of the mother country. Can one use the term suburb /banlieue/ for these types of suburban villages? Sapko, Thiès-none, Tiali, and Keur-Issa-Bambara, on the one hand, can be regarded as suburb villages; in fact they possess the essential characteristics: proximity to the city, relatively high percentage of workers traveling daily to the enterprises of Thiès, a considerable number of mixed workers, sale of truck-gardening products in the city, relatively high percentage of improved dwellings...

Keur-Mamour and Karamoko already appear to be outside of the economy of the city and cannot be regarded as suburb villages. Diakhaté would be a marginal type; despite its proximity to the first urban quarters, its economy seems to be little influenced by that of the city (only a fifth of the economically active population works in the city).

On the mother-country plan, a city such as Thiès would [498] have an important industrial suburb. Let us not forget that the workshops of the Dakar-Niger engage nearly 2,500 native workers.

369 241 The agrarian economy plays an essential role in these villages, but it has remained traditional. The introduction of new crops and the extension of the zones of gardening and orchards are very slight. The woman has perhaps extended by a few square meters the /386/ area of her vegetable garden for the cultivation of vegetables intended for sale at the market, but no serious systematic arrangement has been made. Traditional cultivation, with its archaic methods, prevails everywhere. If 369 the need for money stimulates the rural person to offer his services 464 in the city, he seems to choose the place of work nearest to his 166 home. Is it truly out of liking that the Wolof of Diakhaté hire themselves out to the workshops of the Dakar-Niger? Is it out of liking that the None near the mercantile quarters hire themselves out as laborers or boys? The proximity of the place of work seems to enter considerably into the choice of urban occupation.

The suburban village, as we have noted several times, has

/388/

269 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth
[166] one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[241] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

17: Mercier--25 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/24 cont./

b) These simplified data call for some commentary. What is the significance of the sometimes important differences that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the different strata?

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here.

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The important factor here is the degree of Westernization (1).

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of households which include one person in addition to the restricted family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures.

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational

S 244 /7/ generally at the end of October or the beginning of November. Harvesting is done by cutting the stalks with the hilaire four or five centimeters under the ground. They are collected into little piles, sometimes protected by a shelter of plant material for drying, and then heaped into stacks to await the detachment S [462] of the shells several weeks later by threshing or by hand. This last operation is entrusted to the women and children. All of these tasks require great effort, and the more so since during the S [243] same brief period one must busy himself with the food crops, millet, niébés /Vigna/, etc.

S 241 The ways in which the groundnut is associated with the food crops are quite variable and put their mark on the agrarian 244 landscape.

W 244 1) The lougan of the Ouoloff peasant. The Ouoloff peasant of Cayor or of Siné-Saloum represents the most traditional type of cultivator of groundnuts. He still practices shifting cultivation on his lougan /cultivated field/ cleared by fire in the open bush. Although he does practice a millet-groundnut rotation, often with very little strictness, he does not know the virtues of fertilization. He cultivates the soil until it is exhausted and then abandons it for 15 or 20 years, which allows it to go back to bush. Today, however, demographic pressure does not always permit him to dispose of the vast areas of land required for this long rest. S W The soil is rapidly being exhausted; the yields are diminishing. [433] In Cayor the latter have fallen off at least 700 kilograms per hectare. The cultivation of the groundnut is very obviously regressing.

S SR 241 2) The organized ground of the Sérère /Serer/ peasantry (2). The Sérère are a group of Sudanese origin, driven back

S [113]

2. Pelissier, P. "Les paysans sérère, essai sur la formation d'un terroir au Sénégal /The Serer peasants, an essay on the formation of a ground in Senegal/." Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. VI, 1953, No. 22, pp. 105-127.

S
SR /7 cont./
241 by the Mandingue and settled in Siné-Saloum. They are above
[244] all millet farmers; on the average they cultivate a hectare of this cereal to 70 acres of groundnuts. The groundnut, having entered the agricultural cycle quite recently, has contributed to the formation of a ground of specialized sectors. Around the village, surrounding it, are located the fields of small millet, cotton, and manioc. Beyond this pombod, under the Faidherbia, the ground is divided into three areas /soles/ corresponding to a system of triennial rotation, small millet, groundnuts, and fallowing, where, after cultivation, the animals graze and manure the soil for the next cultivation. Each family has its shares in each /8/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ area.
SR
[423] The separation between these three large sectors of the ground is maintained by living hedges or barriers of cut thorns. In Sérère country a permanent ground is delineated, and land ownership stands out. The peasant takes care of managing the land and only wants a little money for the groundnuts, a secondary crop.

S
244 3) "Speculative" or "extractive" cultivation. In contrast to the Sérère example, this is a type of cultivation where the cultivator, often occasional, is attracted solely by the immediate profit that groundnuts may bring. It is practiced by the group of Murids on the one hand, and, on the other, by the navétanes
S /seasonal workers/.
795 /9/ Muridism (3) is a Moslem movement founded by Sheik
S
[113]

3. Pelissier, P. "L'arachide au Sénégal, rationalisation et modernisation de la culture," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. IV, 1951, No. 13, pp. 80-85.

Amadou Bamba, who died in 1927. The brotherhood has many adepts, especially in Siné-Saloum near the Ouoloff. For the Murids, Islam is a religion based on renouncement. Agricultural work becomes a holy thing if it is done for the benefit of the pious man who prays. The adepts of Muridism, or talibés, thus

[Text continues on p.7--Analyst]

/22 cont./

258 product, usually crude, each year leaves the Senegalese
[433] factories, which thus operate under their productive capacity.
[439] About 110,000 metric tons are exported. The traditional technique of manufacture by pressure, with recovery of the oil cake, or "expellers," is being replaced more and more by the procedure with solvents, slightly increasing the rate of extraction of oil, but providing poor oil-cake.

This industry of the oil-factory if now localized in five urban centers: Dakar, Lyndiane, Djourbel, Kaolack, and
[464] Ziguinchor. It employs more than 3,000 wage earners, nearly
[563] 300 of whom are European technicians; on the basis of this it is the primary industry /23/ of Senegal, and the more so since
[388] it has had annexed to it the complementary industry of soap-making, which produced more than 15,000 metric tons of soap from the neutralization paste.

258 The development of the Sengalese industry of oil-making
433 represents a considerable evolution of the economy of the country, since the groundnut has ceased to be a product of
[439] trade in the colonial sense of the term. In fact, the product that traditionally constitutes the great agricultural resource has become the principal raw material of local industry; more than ever, the groundnut keeps Senegal alive.

433 3. The essential position of the groundnut in the economy
● 241 of Senegal. "Whether or not it is desirable, the economy of Senegal can revolve only with the help of the production of groundnuts." This phrase by M. Portères sums up the essential position of the product in the local economy. In 1957, for the
[439] whole of former Mali, the total value of the exports rose to 21,085 billions of francs C.F.A., the products of the groundnut accounting for 18,257 billions of this sum, of which more than 15 billions was for Senegal alone. At the same time, of
[162] 2,230,000 inhabitants of Senegal, only 58,700 were non-agricultural workers, that is, non-producers of groundnuts. Actually,
433 however, many of them are supported by them indirectly, in trade, transport, or industry. It is not exaggerated to affirm

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

one coastal area, the Casamancian. Except in these last two belts the climate is deficient in rainfall, and it is the length of the dry season that controls the distribution of plant communities. 137

Along the coast as far south as the Cape Verde peninsula is the southward extension of the sub-Canarian area, a description of which has been given on p. 320.

The Thornland

The thornland occupies the northern part of the colony from a little north-east of Dakar eastwards to Kidira and northwards to the Senegal. This region, it will be recalled, has a rainfall of from 10 to 20 inches. It is a country of spiny shrubs, especially species of *Acacia*, associated with which are the soapberry tree, the African myrrh, and *Combretum aculeatum*. Many of the trees and shrubs are without leaves during the dry season, but some are evergreen. The natural vegetation in this zone has been much devastated by fire, pasturage, and the over-exploitation of the gum-yielding acacias. [314] On the other hand, annual firing of brushwood and grassland plays a subordinate part in modifying the plant life. The more open nature of both the woody and herbaceous vegetation impedes or prevents fires spreading over great extents of country. Tufted grasses are particularly abundant in the open grasslands between, and even under, the trees and bushes.

The Grass-Woodland

If the Casamancian area be considered as a modification of the Guinea subzone, the grass-woodland may be said to occupy the remainder of the colony. The Sudan subzone is, however, the more important. In the western part of the colony the subzones run north-west to south-east, extend across the Gambia, and then turn almost due west and east. The northward bend in the west is due to oceanic climatic influences, and the modified Casamancian area is similarly due to a greater humidity. The vegetation of the zone as a whole consists of a mixture of trees and grasslands, the former either being spaced in clumps or patches or standing as individuals. The grasslands are continuous over wide areas and are fired regularly in the dry season. This firing of brushwoods and grasslands, together with centuries of heavy cultivation, has highly modified the natural vegetation, especially towards the west. This is especially exemplified by forest destruction in the Guinea subzone. [241]

The vegetation of the Sudan subzone corresponds to an annual

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

137 rainfall of from 20 to 60 inches. In appearance it is reminiscent of a park or orchard, with well-spaced trees or small clumps of trees projecting well above the herbaceous layer, and the most characteristic trees are from 18 to 45 feet tall. The most frequent in Senegal are the African locust bean, the tallow tree (*Detarium senegalense*), the ginger-bread plum or pomme du cayor (*Parinari macrophylla*), various legumes (*Cassia sieberiana*, *Entada africana*, *Acacia sieberiana*, *Albizzia ferruginea*, *Prosopis africana*, *Cordyla africana*, and *Pterocarpus erinaceus*), the Borassus palm (*Borassus aethiopum*), *Combretum glutinosum*, *Terminalia macroptera*, *Sterculia setigera*, *Cola cordifolia*, and the Meni oil tree. Shrubs and climbing woody plants are locally associated with the trees, but plants growing on the trunks and branches are generally absent. Parasites of the mistletoe family, however, are common. Most of the trees lose their leaves at the advent of the dry season. The grasslands consist mainly of grasses of the tribe Andropogoneae.

Excluding the Casamancian area, the Guinea subzone occupies two small regions north-west and south-east of the Gambia. At one time parts of this subzone were covered by dense forests, but to-day [31] there are only scattered relicts. Much of the country is cultivated, and the rest is subjected to the continued degrading influences of fire, grazing, and shifting cultivation. As a consequence, a degraded brushwood on impoverished soil represents the weed flora of several years' fallow. This is cut down, and the cultivation of ground-nuts [24] and cereals follows for a period of years; after which the ground is again allowed to go fallow. Many of the weeds are of American or Indian origin.

The Casamancian Area. The Casamancian area (Vol. I, p. 101) is the most tropical part of the colony. The Casamance river and the coastal channels are bordered up to tidal limits by thick mangrove-[24] woodland. Behind this there are often marshy clearings, now frequently transformed into rice-fields, and stretches of forest communities. Swamp-forests and thickets have screw-pines, palms (*Raphia*, *Calamus*), and bamboos. There are also frequent clumps of oil palm. In the remnants of high forest legumes are abundant and include species of *Afzelia*, *Dialium*, *Daniellia*, *Erythrophloeum*, *Pentaclethra*, *Parkia*, and *Acacia*. Noteworthy trees of the forest patches are a dragon's tree (*Dracaena*), the pattern wood (*Alstonia congensis*), the African teak (*Chlorophora excelsa*), and the silk-cotton tree (*Ceiba pentandra*). Many of them have a height of more than 60 feet.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30
Trarza MS24

reaching St. Louis. This disaster has been made famous by the celebrated painting of Théodore Géricault.

As St. Louis was in British hands until the early months of 1817, Schmaltz established his capital at Cape Verde.

The first settlers from France were sponsored by the Société Coloniale Philanthropique, and consisted of 175 men, 20 women, and 10 children. Their intention was to settle in the Cape Verde peninsula. This was against the advice of Schmaltz, who thought that part of the country unsuitable. The settlers landed at Goree in April 1817, shortly afterwards crossing to the mainland; but, owing to the attitude of the natives, they were unable to obtain land or labour. At the end of two months there were only six left on the peninsula: the remainder had been repatriated to France or had retired to St. Louis, Goree, or the Gambia. Schmaltz was able to prevent the philanthropic but misguided society from sending eighty more colonists to the same place.

Attempts to establish European colonists met with more success on the Senegal. In 1819 Schmaltz had no difficulty in obtaining from the chiefs of Oualo all the land he wanted on the left bank of the river. In return, the chiefs were given annual subsidies (*coutumes*) amounting to some 10,000 francs. This arrangement was to lead to endless trouble. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and tobacco were to be the principal crops, and colonists were not lacking.

The natives of Oualo were peaceable, but the Trarza and Brakna Arabs, who claimed to be suzerains over Oualo, were hostile. At first they raided the colonists, but later they were defeated by troops from St. Louis in a number of skirmishes. Eventually the French recognized nominal Arab suzerainty, and the colonists were allowed to develop their holdings in relative quiet. Nevertheless, the Trarza Arabs continued to give trouble until 1835, when, after a series of defeats, they entered into a treaty by which they abandoned all claims to Oualo. The French armed post of Dagana was built for the protection of the settlers, and an experimental station was started at Richard Toll for their instruction. The French Government supplied seeds and implements and paid a bonus on crops, and some forty European plantations were established. At first they seemed to succeed, but the climate, the labour difficulties, and the hostile attitude of the natives combined against them. In 1830 the home government withdrew its subsidy, and the plantations were soon abandoned. Since that date the French, while not discouraging European enterprise, have relied for agricultural development principally on the native farmer.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

36 [131] [167] SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School.

[487] [505] [439] Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day, it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and wax.

[491] By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

135 [439] THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other [339] colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the [315] geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

241 THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

[439] There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

243 262 *Millets.* Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

tunity for much development in this industry, particularly in the irrigated areas of the Casamance Territory and Sine-Saloum. Europeans own the majority of the plantations, but co-operate with and encourage native growers. During the first quarter of 1939 production in Tambacounda province was 152 tons, and the factory at Kolda treated 165 tons of fibre.

Ginger. The ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*) is of Asiatic origin, but it has been cultivated in Africa for many centuries. It is grown on a small scale wherever the rainfall is over 30 inches. It does best in a rich soil and requires shade. The ginger of commerce is prepared from the rhizome or underground stem, which is mature when the leaves turn yellow. The best ginger is prepared from immature rhizomes, which are peeled and preserved in sugar syrup, but in West Africa the coarser, mature stems are also used. Chewed ginger is reputed to enhance the stimulating effect of kola.

Pimentos. Several species of *Capsicum* or peppers grow in the Federation. In Senegal the most common are *C. annum* and *C. frutescens*, both bearing red fruits. The former was introduced from South America. It is less pungent and has larger fruits, known as 'capsicums'. *C. frutescens* has hotter fruits, known in commerce as 'chillies'. Cayenne or paprika is the red powder obtained from grounding the fruit. Pepper shrubs are grown from seeds, and after three months bear fruit for at least six months. These red peppers should not be confused with the common pepper, which is a climber and does not grow in West Africa.

Henna. This plant (*Lawsonia inermis*), like sugar-cane, maize, ginger, and castor oil, is grown wherever there is enough water. The plant is much revered by Moslems and often grown as a hedge. The powder of the young, dried leaves is the source of henna dye.

Other Crops. Other products of which small quantities are exported are citrus fruits, gum arabic, shea butter, cotton, kapok, and palm kernels.

Livestock

Livestock are fewer here than in any other colony. Sheep and goats, the latter being the more numerous, are kept near the river between Podor and Bakel and number about 100,000. There are some 310,000 cattle, 50,000 donkeys, 6,000 camels, and 14,000 pigs. These last are mainly kept in the Casamance Territory. There are 36,000 horses. These are of two breeds, the M'Bayar and the M'Par, and

/105 cont./

465 357 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid between 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 465 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As [241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 166 167 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut cultivation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A 244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the 466 foreigner and his employer.

[465] This is a verbal agreement according to which the employer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

[465] At the time of his departure, the navétane must reimburse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by